ER /532 cont./

16 16. (cont.)
182 frequently find Indian stone axes under 5 to
172 6 meters of alluvia.

B Here and now, the rivers populated by
16 the Refugee Blacks offer the most striking contrast to the rest of
182 the Amazon forest.

If no social or political factor hindered their development, the populations of African origin would doubtless finish by gradually replacing the other populations of Amazonia, with the exception of the Asiatics established on the coast.

ER
161 The factors which we have brought to light in studying the
174 Oayana and Oyampi Indians of Guiana suffice to explain the gradual extinction of the Indians of the Amazonian forest since their first contacts with the Europeans and the Blacks; the violence of which they must have been the object from time to time, as well as wars between tribes, have played only a quite secondary role.

ER
[165] It is not difficult to imagine what the demographic characteristics of the Indians of the forest might have been before the arrival of the Europeans. It may be imagined that in the absence of the epidemic lung diseases, the average life span was somewhat greater: perhaps 50% of the individuals instead of 45 reached the age of maximum fertility, and the cumulative fertility was as high as 4.5 instead of 4; due to a rather better state of general health. Under these conditions, in spite of malaria, the population would maintain itself; it could even increase slightly.

E
161 This point of view is illustrated in striking fashion by the ob-
165 servations made among the Oyampi Indians of Oyapok, a group
[758] which has had practically no regular medical care. In this group
[163] from October 1947 to January 1948, 57 deaths as against 60 births are noted. Out of these 57 deaths, at least 11 have been caused by epidemics of influenza or of pneumonia (17). If the Oyampi

17. From 1947 to 1959 there were three or four of these epidemics among the Oyampi, striking one or two villages each time and causing the death of some adults. This is part of the ordinary

E /532 cont./
161
165 17. (cont.)
pathology of the Indians. The large epidemics causing numerous deaths have not reappeared for a century; they were the result of illnesses of recent introduction.

had been preserved from these illnesses, their demographic balance, in the absence of any medical help, would have been largely positive.

B
R /533/
16 Biological characteristics and social behavior. In comparing the
[758] Boni Refugee Blacks and the Oayana Indians of the Upper Maroni, populations leading the same kind of life to a considerable extent, both deprived of any medical aid before 1950, we came to the following conclusions:

B
16 1. The Boni Refugee Blacks showed remarkable fertility and longevity. Life expectancy at birth before 1950 reached 43 years. The average number of children per woman over 55 reached 7.9 for the period before 1920. The Boni population increased 3% per year.

These remarkable characteristics can be explained by the resistance to malaria which the African Blacks possess, and by the fact that the Refugee Blacks descended from a double selection.

R
16 2. The Oayana Indians, on the contrary, show low fertility (3.7 children) and a life expectancy of only 31 years; until these last years they were dying out at a rate of approximately 0.6% per year.

R
161 These conclusions are confirmed by the historic data which
175 show the Oayana regularly decreasing in number since their first
R contact with the Europeans, passing from 3,000 at the end of
[165] the eighteenth century to less than 500 in our day. The extinction of the Indians can be attributed to their great sensitivity to malaria and to pulmonary illnesses.

B
R /534 cont./

14 In the whole of the Amazonian forest these facts have been
16 observed since the seventeenth century and have led to the re-
182 placement of Indians by slave manpower imported from Africa.
114 The course taken in denying the biological realities and wishing to find at any cost a purely sociological explanation has inspired in recent years an ingenious explanation by several authors:

The success of African manpower was, according to them, due to the fact that the Blacks had a civilization closer to that of the Europeans, whereas the Amerindians were more hunters-fishermen than agriculturalists.

B
R
[105] For any observer of good faith, the Indians of Guiana and
R the Blacks of the forests of the Congo and Gabon are largely
[433] on the same technological and cultural level. The Indians are
[361] certainly cultivators just as experienced as the Negroes; is one to forget that it was they who taught the rest of the world the greater part of the important tropical crops: manioc, maize, cotton, tobacco, and so many others? Hunting and fishing for them is only a secondary means of support; it is their instability,
R their lack of attachment to the soil, which may create an
[136] illusion on this point. It can be explained to a certain extent
[361] by the small size of the kinship groups; an ecological factor which does not exist in Black Africa must also be taken into account, the manioc ant, which swarms in particular in the zones habitually cultivated, promoting a seminomadism (18).

B
[136] 18. This factor plays only a secondary role,
[361] since the Refugee Blacks despite the manioc ant, maintain villages of permanent residence, only changing their crop plantings, but it is certain that it promotes the dispersion of the groups and seminomadism.

R
14 These considerations do not pretend to give a complete ex-
16 planation of the social behavior of the Indians of the Amazonian
182 forest. The biological characteristics of the group are only one of the factors of this behavior, parallel to many others, notably

/58 cont./

166 619 It is fitting to make an exception of the case of OWétiti (Papaïston) and OMa Imma (Kotika), who separated from their groups with their numerous descendants in order to found villages on the lower course of the river. These groups continue to consider themselves Boni; they are the nuclei of future villages.

[162] [621] For the same reasons it is difficult to get exact figures on immigration. About 100 Djuka and Saramaka have founded farming villages in Boni country but keep all their ties with their villages of origin; some 30 of them have married Boni women; one can estimate that some 15 have completely bound up their fate with the Boni and can be considered as integrated into the villages in which they have settled.

16 128 [562] All in all one can estimate that emigration and immigration of adult men, both very insignificant, compensate for each other; they have practically no importance on the social plane (since only the residence of the women has any influence upon the grouping of the lineages) or on the demographic plane; with the Boni the pyramid of ages constructed from the census of the villages represents very faithfully the demographic state of the population and lends itself to precise calculations of mortality (1).

> 1. It is not the same for the majority of African populations either because of emigration to the cities or polygamy. The presence of several average polygamists in a village is enough to render completely erroneous the counts of cross-sections by age.

166 571 591 613 The founding of new lineages results from the immigration of several Djuka women, some having come to settle permanently near their husbands, others brought up by their fathers in a Boni village. Half a dozen such cases occur in each generation, but

/58 cont./

166 571 591 613 not all result in the founding of a new lineage, either because the women are sterile or because only one or two surviving children remain who go back to live among their maternal kin. The more children a woman has, the more she tends to settle permanently with her descendants, for the group thus formed represents a force and can be self-sufficient as much on the material level as on the emotional level.

613 571 162 Four new lineages have been founded in the whole of Boni country during the past 50 years: /59/

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Awara Bakka 3 (Anèta) | 16 persons | on January 1, 1958 |
| Afi | 25 | -- |
| Toïna | 9 | -- |
| Poti | 8 | -- |
| Total.... | 58 persons | |

Thus these new lineages represent only $\frac{58}{810}$ = 7 per cent of the Boni.

16 619 The immigration of women from other tribes thus remains an exceptional phenomenon which has few effects on the social and demographic levels. The development of the Boni as a nation results only from the natural movement of the population. Study of the genealogies forces the conclusion that when the members of these four small lineages are eliminated, the whole of the Boni are descended from only six or seven women who lived at the end of the 18th century. Few examples of such growth are to be found.

621 [183] [613] Absence of division of the villages into quarters. We have seen that the custom of the Refugee Blacks is opposed to all that could alter the system of classificatory kinship and leads to the individualization of segments within the lineage. This principle is translated very clearly in the structure of the villages, where one observes no tendency at all toward division into separate quarters.